COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Is it believed, that the debates in this House are conducted with a view to the public good? I admit, for " the sake of argument, that the side of the House, with which I have the honour to act, are no more " actuated than the other by motives of a pure and disinterested nature; though, while I make the admis- " sion, my conscience acquits me of the crime. Is it not in every one's mouth, that the object of one " party is to keep their places, and of the other to supplant them? And, if such an opinion is entertained, " how is it compatible with respect?"——MR. GREY'S (now Lord Howick) Speech, 26th March, 1797, when, after a fruitless motion for a reform of parliament, he notified his intention of seceding from debate.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.——I. Irish Catholics. II. Poor Laws. III. Slave Trade. IV. Lord Wellesley. V. Westminster Election.——I. There are, before the House of Commons, bills for granting an additional sum for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, and for removing, as far as relates to officers in the army and navy, the restrictions, of which the Catholics complain, as to promotion to the higher ranks in those services.——As to the former, there appears to be no reasonable objection to it; for, no one can imagine, that the ignorance of the priests will at all tend to reconcile the people of Ireland to the present state of things, while the not granting of a sufficiency to educate the priests must necessarily increase their hatred of the government, and which hatred is already but too great. It was observed by Mr. Bankes, that the grant was improper, because it went to the *establishing* of the Roman Catholic religion; whereas he was willing to *tolerate* it only. But, do we not grant annually a pretty large sum of money to the dissenting *Protestant* ministers? This is certainly the case; and, yet we are not endeavouring to *establish* their religion in preference to our own. Besides, there is this difference in the two cases; that, the Protestant dissenting ministers can easily obtain an education in any part of the kingdom; whereas the Roman Catholic priests must be educated in the seminary in Dublin, or they must be sent abroad for the purpose; or, indeed, as Sir John Newport observed, they must, in the present state of Europe, be educated in Dublin, or not at all. As to a measure of this sort tending, as it does in the opinions of some persons, to retard the happy day when all the Catholics of Ireland shall be converted into Protestants, that day is becoming farther and farther distant. We go the wrong way to work in every thing relating to this matter: and especially in the regulations relative to the *residence* of the Protestant clergy. That a man who resided continually in his parish might possibly make some progress in the conversion of his parishioners will be readily believed; but most men will be very backward in believing, that a minister, who resides and spends his income in London or at Bath or Cheltenham, can do much, in the way either of precept or example, to convert the Irish from the " *damnable* errors of popery," in which their and our forefathers lived and died. There is, to be sure, something very whimsical in the Romish religion, whether as to doctrine or discipline; and it does vex one to see even sensible people submit to be governed by such shockingly ignorant creatures as are, sometimes, to be found amongst the Romish priests; but, we should not be too hasty in condemning in the lump; and, when I look at many of the priests of most other churches, or sects, I am, for my part, by no means disposed for a crusade of conversion, than which, as directed against the Irish, the bringing of Africans away from their country, in order to convert them in the West India Islands, is, in my opinion, a far more rational scheme ——As to the provision relating to the officers of the army and navy, they, surely, ought to be permitted to become field officers and generals, when we have so many *Hanoverian* Majors and Colonels in our service, and stationed in the heart of our country. Yet, if Roman Catholics may rise to the highest ranks in the military service, without any breach of the " Coronation Oath," why Roman Catholics may not be permitted to have seats in parliament, or at the Council, or on the Bench, is a question worthy of being submitted to Mr. Reeves, who is the master casuist in all matters affecting the royal conscience. It does, however, sound rather awkwardly, that this emancipation, as the Catholics persist in calling it, should be extended only to men who have arms in their hands. Perhaps it may go further. Who knows but the ministers may, at last, fulfil

one of their pledges! They have begun with the negroes; and, though they should have begun with the whites, let us hope that they will, for once, think of their promises and vows, and do something, at last, to furnish their friends with an instance to quote in their favour.——II The bill for amending the Poor Laws was, on the 23d instant, read a second time, and ordered to be printed. The bill is then to be sent to the quarter sessions in the several counties, that it may there be examined, and that the several sets of justices may give their opinion upon it. If this be proper, in this instance, why not in other instances? And, if the approbation of the justices be to be obtained, why not appeal to the whole of the people? I dare say, that, in the four counties of Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, where the majority upon the several benches consist of police magistrates, who are *paid* for their services, and who are *liable to be removed at the will of the ministry:* in those counties, I dare say, the plan will meet with an instant and cordial approbation. Nor, considering of what description, generally speaking, the other magistrates are, is it to be much feared by Mr. Whitbread, that his bill will be very vehemently condemned.——Mr. Morris, upon the day just mentioned, expressed his disapprobation of every part of the bill, except that which provided for the *education* of the poor; and, he wished much to have an opportunity of speaking upon the subject in this stage of the progress of the bill, in order that his objections *might go to the quarter sessions along with the project.* Thus, then, this is a direct acknowledgement, from a member of the House, that he is speaking to the people out of doors as much, at least, as to those within doors; and yet the House possesses the power of punishing, in any manner they please, any man who shall publish the speeches of the members! As to what Mr. Morris's objections would be, I shall not presume to anticipate. Mine go to the whole of the plan, as far as I can, at present understand it, except that part which removes, in some degree, the restriction as to settlements; but, these objections I shall refrain from stating, until I have an opportunity of seeing the bill itself. In the meanwhile, however, I cannot help again reminding my readers, of the curious effect which a change of situation has upon some men's minds. Mr. Whitbread, while his friends were out of office; while they and he (for, though he has not yet touched, he will touch) saw no prospect of getting possession of emolument and power; *then* Mr. Whitbread saw nothing but the parliament that wanted reforming; to the corruption and profligacy of the *great* he ascribed all the disgrace and misery of the nation. But *now* he finds that he was beginning at the wrong end; and that he should have set out with reforming, not the parliament, but the people. Now that all his relations are gorging with the public money up to the very palate, he finds out that a mark of disgrace ought to be affixed upon all those who receive aid out of the parish taxes.——III. The bill for abolishing the Slave Trade was again discussed on the 23d and 27th instant, on the former of which days, upon a motion for going into a committee upon the bill, the House divided, 283 for it, and only 16 against it.——As to the merits of the case, it is useless to say any more. But, there were two or three new arguments and observations that appear to be worthy of notice. My Lord Howick, not content with displaying his powers in repeating all that Brissot and Grenville Sharpe and others had said about the injustice and inhumanity of the traffic, concluded with an *authority*, namely, that of the joint voices of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, "who," said this regenerated lord, "forgot all ri-"valship here, and joined in favour of the "measure. Their opinions, on this sub-"ject, are a legacy, which they left to the "House, and which forms a monument to "their memories, the most lasting and most "splendid."—A figure of rhetorick somewhat more complete than this might have been conceived in a *classical* mind; but, as to *monuments*, my lord, we know full well that Pitt's memory is to have one of another sort. We know, too, that we are to pay for it. We know further, that you and Mr. Fox voted and spoke against it. And, my lord, there are persons who say, that, had they been in your place, they would have begged their bread from door to door rather than remain in a ministry, who suffered Mr. Fox to sink obscurely to the grave, while all manner of funeral and sepulchral honours were heaped upon Pitt. But, my lord, it is precisely because these silly persons are not in your place that they say this. If they had tasted of the all illuminating elexir, as your lordship and several others have done, they would have perceived, as clear as day-light, the important fact, that the office of one living minister was worth the fame of ten dead ministers. Yes, my lord, these "illustrious persons" did agree upon this subject of the Slave Trade; and so they did upon the subject of a reform in parliament; and your lordship agreed with them. Was not that a "legacy," too,

which they left to the House? Or did they, respectively, cancel their wills, as to that point, the moment they came into office? The moment they tasted of the potent elixir aforesaid? That Pitt cancelled his will, as to this legacy, we know very well; and, if Mr. Fox did not do the same; if he has actually left us the legacy, why do not you and his other executors pay it us without delay? You will not, I hope, affect to treat the question of parliamentary reform as one of little importance: I do hope you will not; because, in that case, I shall have to perform the painful and disgusting task of reminding you of all that you and others said of the House, at the time when you gave notice of your *secession*, declaring that while the House remained constituted as it then was, you should think it useless to honour it any more with the delivery of your sentiments; and, really, my lord, as far as my powers of judging go, there is no alteration in the constitution of the House, except that you and your friends, who formerly sat on the Opposition side, are now seated upon the Treasury Bench.——But, my lord, in talking of *legacies*, did it never occur to your lordship, that there was another legacy, which Pitt, whom you have now discovered to be "an *illus-* "*trious statesman*," left to the House, or rather to the people; namely, the *sedition bills*, resistance, open, *violent resistance* to which, Mr. Fox, you, Mr. Erskine, Mr. Tierney, and others, declared to be merely *a question of prudence?* This was a thumping legacy indeed; and, your lordship and your colleagues are so good as *to let us enjoy it!* You may sneer, my Lord Howick. You may put on that supercilious look again and again. But, you and I, my Lord Howick, are of about the same age; and if we live but a very few years, we shall see the day when, as an answer to such observations, sneering will be quite out of fashion.——It must, my lord, in looking at the aforementioned division, have made your heart jump for joy to find the morality and piety of the House so greatly improved since the days, when, upon the question of the Slave Trade, the "illustrious Pitt" used to be left in a *minority*; when he who had power to do every thing else, had not power to obtain a division in his favour upon this subject. Yes, in the House of Commons, indeed, he had; but, not in the House of Lords, though, as you will please to observe, that House consisted of nearly the very same persons as at this day. This is very strange indeed. Their lordships must certainly have acquired some new lights upon the subject since that time; for, to suppose, that they have now passed the bill upon the same grounds that they before rejected it, is something too shocking to think of. What a wonderful faculty of stating and arguing your lordship and your colleagues must possess! Pitt, income-tax Pitt, though he could pass the sedition bills; though he could sell the land-tax; though he could alienate part of the real property of the Church; though he could keep the act of Habeas Corpus suspended for seven years at once; was not able to accomplish, with respect to the Slave Trade, in an administration of twenty years, what you and your colleagues have accomplished in an administration of about half as many months! Well, then, my lord, if you have such power, why not do some at least, of the many other things, which you promised to do for us? You will call this *harping;* but, it is harping which every honest man approves of, and which will stick to you as long as you are a minister.——Of the other speeches Mr. Roscoe's was worthy of notice. He suggested, that what the nation might lose, in point of commerce, from the abolition of the Slave Trade, it might gain by an extension of our trade to the East Indies. Does it appear to this gentleman, then, that colonies in Hindostan are more likely to benefit this country than colonies at one-sixth part of the distance? Does he think that continents are better suited to us than islands? Did he never hear of any slavery or murder being committed in the East Indies? Or is not the colour of the people's skin in that country quite dark enough for him? Perchance he would wish to keep the cruelty at as great a distance as possible. The people in the East Indies are not, perhaps, driven to their work like cattle, as it has been called; but they are lashed by the taxgather, who unites, in the same person, the office of absolute judge of life and death; and, let history say, whether more persons have not suffered death from English rapacity in the East Indies, in any one year out of the last thirty, than have ever so suffered in the West Indies, since the Slave Trade was first heard of.——The Solicitor General spoke on the side of the bill, and concluded with the following compliment to Mr. Wilberforce: "When he "looked to *the man* now at the head of the "French monarchy, surrounded as he was "with all the pomp of power, and all the "pride of victory, distributing kingdoms to "his family, and principalities to his follow-"ers, seeming when he sat upon his throne "to have reached the summit of human "ambition, and the pinnacle of earthly "happiness, and when he followed that "man into his closet or to his bed, and con-

" sidered the pangs with which his solitude " must be tortured and his repose banished " by the recollection of the blood he had " spilled, and the oppressions he had com- " mitted; and when he compared, with " those pangs of remorse, the feelings " which must accompany his hon. friend " (Mr. Wilberforce) from that House to " his home, after the vote of the night " should have confirmed the object of his " humane and unceasing labours; when he " should retire into the bosom of his happy " and delighted family, when he should lay " himself down on his bed, reflecting on " the innumerable voices that would be " raised in every quarter of the world to " bless him, how much more pure and per- " fect felicity must he enjoy in the con- " sciousness of having preserved so many " nations of his fellow creatures, than the " man with whom he had compared him, " on the throne to which he had waded " through slaughter and oppression."—— Upon which, as the reporter of the debate says, there were " *three distinct and univer-* " *sal cheers;*" just such, I suppose, as are heard, when a company of placemen, pensioners, and taxgatherers, otherwise called the " friends of government," drink the king's health! But, this scribbling sycophant must have meant, that the folks in the gallery cheered thus. Surely so grave and reverend an assembly as that of our lawgivers never could have hooted and hallooed at strains so pathetic! The same reporter says, that the preceding speech (Sir John Doyle's) was interrupted by " *loud and con-* " *tinued bursts of laughter.*" He must mean, in the gallery. It is impossible that such wise, grave, reverend, and almost holy men, as Mr Calcraft and General Fitzpatrick and Mr. Wynne and Sir Menasses Lopez and all the Smiths and all the Thorntons and the like; it is impossible, that even the funny stories of Sir John Doyle, with whatsoever labour selected from Joe Miller and the Encyclopedia of Wit, could have made such men laugh, while their enlightened and feeling minds were intent upon this great work of liberty and humanity. But, to return to the speech of the Solicitor General, it may be thought by some persons, that the compliment to Mr. Wilberforce would have lost nothing in its worth, if it had not proceeded in the way of comparison; for, there are those, who can remember having heard some of the present ministry describe the subjects of Prussia and Russia as being men not quite so free as they might be. This was, indeed, at a time when those ministers had not tasted the elixir; but, that circumstance, though of primary importance with those who understand these things, is too often overlooked by the mass of mankind; and, therefore, it is not very surprising, that uninformed persons should regard " the " *man* at the head of the French monarchy" as being, at this moment, also actually engaged in the righteous work of emancipation; more especially when they revert to the language that was made use of, in the House of Commons, relating to the partition of Poland. Nay, there really are people, who pretend, that the oppressed wretches of certain of the states yet unconquered by Napoleon, experience some mitigation of their oppression in consequence of the dread which their rulers have of throwing them into his arms, and of, thereby, losing their prey; and that, in this way, even " the man at the " head of the French monarchy," though he does, it must be confessed, dispose of kings and kingdoms pretty freely, is an instrument in the hands of Providence for " the relief " of suffering and degraded humanity," as Mr Fawkes called it. This is, doubtless, an erroneous opinion; but, it shows that something may be said in this way; and, therefore, the compliment of the Solicitor General would have been better, had it been more simple.——As to the blood that Napoleon has " waded through to the throne," I cannot see for what purpose it was introduced, except, indeed, for the novelty of the figure. There may have been several persons murdered by him; but I have never yet seen any proof of the fact. And, I think, if we come to talk of deposings and takings-off, that Mr. Wilberforce has heard of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of Furrackabad, the Nabob of Tanjore, the Polygars, the Zemindars, and the unfortunate Whisker-men. Yet I never did hear, that Mr. Wilberforce expressed, at any time, in any one single instance, a feeling of horror, or a sentiment of disapprobation, upon the subject. Is it that the princes and people of Hindostan are not white enough, or not black enough? What are the princes of Germany to me, or to you, reader, more than the princes of Hindostan? The deposing of the latter gives me rather more pain than the deposing of the former; because, the deposings in Hindostan add to the taxes of England, and tend to increase the quantity of bank paper and the number of paupers. Why, then, should we make such an outcry in one case, and be so perfectly tranquil in the other? Ah! Mr. Solicitor General! we may eulogise ourselves and one another, but, you may be assured, that the world will form a just opinion of us.——Mr. Wilberforce,

who concluded the debate, went over his old ground; and, Mr. Malthus, the check-population philosopher, having, upon a former occasion, been quoted as an authority in favour of negro-slavery, Mr. Wilberforce said, that *it happened*, that he had had a conversation with that gentleman only ten minutes before he entered the House; and that he had declared, that his meaning had been misunderstood, and that he had just prepared a short appendix to his work, in order to explain his ideas upon the subject; whence was drawn an inference by Mr. Wilberforce, that, if *Pliny* and others had had a like opportunity, they would have explained themselves too, and disclaimed the doctrines imputed to them. For my part, I have ever considered the check-population philosopher as a defender of negro slavery; and, it is very probable, that the best explanation he could have given would be merely this: "when I "wrote my book the ministry were opposed "to the abolition of the slave trade; now "the ministry are for the abolition; and, if "Pliny were here, and wanted a snug place "or pension, he would be for the abolition "too."——Mr. Wilberforce concluded, as the reporter informs us, with the following compliment to the juvenile aristocracy, "the "rising hope of the country," as Mr. Sheridan styled Lord Barrymore and his associates at the Westminster Election. "The Ho-"nourable Gentleman," says the Reporter, "pronounced an elegant eulogium upon the "display of character and talent which the "House had this night witnessed on the side "of humanity and justice, particularly on "the part of the younger members; whose "lofty and liberal sentiments recommended "and enforced by the elevation of their "rank, and the *purity of their form*, must "tend to produce the happ est effects upon "all classes of the community. Such an "indication of mind and feeling must afford "gratification to any reflecting man, and "diffuse the most salutary lessons through-"out the country; must shew to the peo-"ple, *that their legislators, and especially "the higher order of their youths*, were for-"ward to assert *the rights of the weak "against the strong*; to vindicate the cause "of the oppressed, and that where *a prac-"tice was found to prevail, inconsistent with "humanity and justice*, no consideration of "profit could reconcile them to its conti-"nuation."——In the first place, Mr. Wilberforce, I do not believe, that those youths of "pure form" have any *profit* at stake in the abolition of the Slave Trade; and, nothing can be more easy, or more common, than to express and act upon lofty sentiments of generosity, at other people's expence; as in the case, for instance, of the late parliament making the insulted people of this country pay the debts of Pitt, and that, too, observe, when the principal creditors were members of that same parliament; and in which act of sublime generosity you, too, had your share. But, Sir, is there no case of oppression to be found without going to the West Indies for it? Cannot these lofty minded youths find any other instance, in which they can convey a salutary lesson to the country? What think you of the Income Tax, Sir? This is a tax, which takes by means the most inquisitorial, ten pounds from every hundred of a man's income, from whatsoever source that income may arise, and, in its operation, it extends so low as to reach an income of fifty pounds a year. Thus, you, whose income arises from land, pay ten pounds in the hundred upon the rent of your land, and my neighbour, who is a carpenter, pays ten pounds in the hundred upon the fruit of his labour. "Well," you will say, perhaps, "I pay according to my "large income and he according to his "small income." But, Sir, the difference, the wide difference, is this; your's is a freehold estate that will descend unimpaired to your children, while his earnings must cease with his life, and even with his health. With you it is a tax upon interest; with him it is a tax upon capital. To obviate the effect of any confusion of ideas which a crafty statement might produce respecting the rise which such tax produces in the price of labour and in the profit of the tradesman, I shall suppose the case of a life-hold estate. You pay ten pounds a year out of the rent of an estate of a hundred pounds a year in perpetuity; and the same is paid by the man who has such an estate only for his life. Your children will still possess the whole of your estate after your death; but, the children of the man of life-hold estate are not only left without such estate; but are deprived of the tenth part of the income, which might have been saved for them, during the life of their father. The case of officers in the army is still more obviously hard. Suppose an officer, no matter what his rank, has a wife and children. If he die not of wounds received in battle, there is, I believe, no provision made for either wife or children; and, at any rate, the allowance is so small as to be scarcely sufficient to support life. Yet this man, out of his scanty pay, which is merely for life, is compelled to contribute in as great a proportion as you contribute from the mere annual *rent* of your freehold estate. There is another case, which I will

not *suppose*, because I know, and I *feel* its existence. A man, who has, till lately, been a day-labourer from the earliest of his working days; who was married about twenty years ago; who, unenlightened by the check population philosophy of your friend Mr. Malthus, has had fourteen children, has now ten alive, and has never, in his life, received aid from the parish, though, until within these six years, he has never had any thing but the fruit of his bare labour whereon to subsist; this man, who, by the assistance of a friend, now occupies a small farm, is just beginning to taste the reward of his laborious and virtuous life; is just beginning to look beyond the means of mere existence, and to raise his hopes to the providing of some little store against the day when it may please God to take him from his numerous and affectionate offspring; this man, Mr. Wilberforce, who has always worked hard, still works harder, and, until very lately, has always lived harder, than any of the sooty objects of your philanthropy; this man, the moment he begins to rise above mere misery, is served with bundles of inquisitorial papers; is compelled to render a strict account of his gettings; and, when he comes to sit down at the close of the day, with a room full of children, the youngest of whom is upon his knee, perhaps he has to perform the mortifying and humiliating task of putting his own hand to the deed which takes from him one tenth part of those gettings, while he knows that men of freehold estate, like you, pay only in the same proportion out of their annual rents. Here were a case, Sir, for the exercise of humanity and justice; here were a case, indeed, for the youth of lofty sentiments of generosity to stand forward to "assert the rights of the "weak against the strong, to vindicate the "cause of the oppressed, to set at nought "profit when opposed to justice and humanity." But, though I know well, that there are some few of the youths of high rank, who see these matters in the same light that I do, they are not amongst those who *talk* so much about humanity and justice, and whose ardent minds ramble in search of objects to the other side of the Atlantic. And, as to you, Sir, did you not assist in making the law which imposed the tax upon income? Yes; nor do I recollect that you opposed; nay, I know that you supported, the laws for silencing parliamentary reformers, though you yourself had, in conjunction with Pitt, led the way in demanding a reform of the parliament, as being the only means of putting a stop to that bribery and corruption, which, as he and you asserted, were the principal cause of all the wickedness and misery existing in the country. How many a man has counted the death watch in the solitary dungeons of the Cold-Bath Fields prison for having endeavoured to accomplish what you and Mr. Pitt represented as necessary to the very existence of the nation! They were not negroes, to be sure; they were of our own skin and our own country; but, were, merely for those reasons, not objects of humanity! But, Sir, I will quit the subject for the present, and revive it when I come to speak of that famous philanthropic establishment, the colony of *Sierra Leone*, which the philanthropists, now that they find that no money is to be gained by the speculation, are desirous of turning over to the unfortunate nation.——Addressing myself, as I now do, to the philanthropists by trade, *out of doors*, I must confess, that, amongst all the evils that I apprehend from the abolition of the Slave Trade, I do perceive one great and solid good; namely, that there will now be an end to their cant; that the ground-work of their delusions, of their base and hateful hypocrisy, will now be removed; and that, like the hired "Anti-jacobins," they must now starve, or seek for some honester means of procuring a livelihood. That they may, indeed, like the above said "loyal" persons, endeavour to keep up the notion of the still-existing object of their hostility, is possible; but, the imposture will soon become too glaring not to be detected by every man of common sense; and, as to the ideot part of the community, they are no more than so many flies in the producing of political effects ——

IV. With respect to Lord Wellesley, it was, in a former sheet of this volume, observed, that Sir Thomas Turton had given notice of a motion for the *Carnatic Papers*, which had before, in the year 1802, been moved for and afterwards printed upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan, at an expence to the public of many hundreds of pounds, that gentleman having given a solemn pledge, that, unless the then ministry took the matter up, in such a way as to wipe off from the nation the stigma of having approved of the measures which led to the untimely death of the deposed Nabob, he would so take it up. On the 26th of last month, the motion was made by Sir Thomas Turton, who paid some very high compliments to Lord Wellesley and Mr. Sheridan, which the latter returned, and which, taken all together, may enable us to guess at what will be the *result* of this inquiry.——

Sir John Anstruther did not like to suffer the characters of the executive officers in India to be complimented away by the praise which Sir Thomas and Mr. Sheridan had bestowed upon each other. He said the Court of Directors had approved of the revolution in the Carnatic; and deprecated the *revival of old charges*, many of the mischiefs resulting from which he himself had witnessed in India; alluding, perchance, to the charges against Mr. Hastings, *in the prosecution of whom he was a most active manager*, a fact of which Mr. Robert Thornton did not fail to remind him. Mr. Grant and Mr. Thornton contended, that the Court of Directors never approved of the revolution in the Carnatic; and they truly so contended.——Sir Arthur Wellesley said, that this House had, by a law, approved of the whole transaction. This was one of Pitt's old sweeping arguments. Mr. Tierney, the famous reformer of abuses, lamented that the subject had now been brought forward, as he could see *no good that it would produce;* and much mischief might arise from holding out hopes *of a transfer of property;* that is to say, of restoring the property to those, from whom, by the revolution, it had been taken. What an excellent argument for the revolutionists in France, and in all other countries! What a complete quencher for all those, who talk of the injustice and rapacity of Napoleon! ——Lord Folkestone contended, that blame lay somewhere, and that, as to the stating precisely, in this stage of the inquiry, the nature of the charge (a statement which had been urgently pressed upon Sir Thomas Turton), it was not possible to make it, until the whole of the papers had been examined.—— The "Right Honourable" Hiley Addington, said, that the quantity of papers moved for relative to India Affairs, within the last year, surpassed in bulk all the papers moved for, relative to those affairs, for the six years preceding; a fact which he thought necessary (but for what *reason* he did not say) to state to Sir Thomas Turton, whom, he was pleased to say, he really did sincerely acquit of being actuated by any motives of *party* or of *vanity!*——"Mr. S. Stanhope "thought it a most extraordinary mode of "opposing the hon. baronet's motion, by re- "fusing to assent to the production of the "papers called for, until the object had been "distinctly stated, which object the papers "in question were alone to ascertain. He "complained of a radical defect in the pre- "sent state of the government in India, and "*sincerely believed that more governments* "*had been subverted by it in the East, than* "*by Buonaparté in the West.*"——Sir T. Turton, in reply, said, "that when it "appeared, from the arguments upon both "sides, that it was a question whether the "Court of Directors approved or disappro- "ved of the conduct of their servants in "India, he did not think a stronger argu- "ment than this very doubt could possibly be "advanced in favour of the motion he had "submitted to the House—his object was "substantial justice, and in the pursuit of "that, however deficient in other respects, "he should not be found defective in zeal, "diligence and perseverance. As to the "voluminous papers with which he had "been threatened from the other side, if "such papers contributed in the least to the "defence of the accused, he himself should "gladly second the motion for their produc- "tion. He had been urged to state distinct- "ly the object of his motion; it was im- "possible to state, in a case of such magni- "tude, on whom the evidence found in "these papers might especially bear; and "it was, therefore, in the present stage of "the business, impossible for him distinctly "to pledge himself, further than avowing "it as his intention to submit a motion com- "mitting the House to a censure of the East "India Company, or its servants, in the as- "sumption of the government of the Car- "natic. The hon. baronet concluded with "an appeal to the feelings of the House, in "which he alluded to the *melancholy fate* "*of the deposed Prince, who, he could* "*prove, had perished in a dungeon.*"—— Mr. Fuller said a few words, expressive of some surprize that Mr. Sheridan did not speak on this subject—"WHAT! IS MORALI- "TY DUMB TOO!" "He wished these "matters to be referred to a judicial tribu- "nal, instead of being discussed in a po- "pular assembly, where it was subject to "the prejudice of parties."——"Mr. She- "ridan said a few words, and observed that "the hon. gentleman who alluded to him "had been a little precipitate in accusing "him of being culpably silent on this oc- "casion, because he had spoken upon it "before the hon. member happened to be "in the house. As to the death of the "Nabob of the Carnatic, he never meant "to impute to the Marquis of Wellesley any "share in that event; but he had no hesi- "tation in saying he had his firm belief *that* "*the young Prince did not die a natural death.*"——Well; but, with all these fine sentiments about *humanity* and *justice* and *national character*, the papers have lain dormant before the House of Commons, ever since the month of July or August 1804

an order for their production having been made, upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan, more than a year before that, at which time the facts of the revolution were, by him, fully stated to the House, who were told, that, until a strict inquiry took place, and until justice was done, there would remain a foul stain upon the national character! Five years is a tolerable while for a nation to remain quiet under such a stain, especially when it has so many *honourable* and even *right honourable* gentlemen to take care of it. But, the truth is, they have been so constantly occupied with weightier matters; with volunteer corps, of one of which Mr. Sheridan, aided by Major Downs, the undertaker, is colonel; with car projects; with catamaran projects; with parish bills and military and finance plans; with laying on taxes; and with inveighing, in strains so indignant, against the insatiable ambition, the grasping rapacity, and the remorseless cruelty of Buonaparté, that they seem to have quite forgotten the the poor Nabob of the Carnatic! Laud we the gods, that their memory has now been refreshed, and that, too, by a gentleman, whom Mr. Hiley Addington does really "acquit of being actuated by any motive of "*party* or of *vanity!*"——V. The transactions relating to the *Westminster Election* are of great importance. On Thursday, the 20th of last month, the petition, inserted in my last, was presented to the House of Commons by Lord Folkestone. On the 27th, another petition was presented by Mr. Biddulph, from the independent, the public-spirited, and every way excellent electors of the liberty of St. Martin Le Grand, who complained, in language most indignant, of the delay, which, upon the motion of Mr. Sheridan himself, had been ordered to take place with respect to the consideration of the petition against his return. Since that, witnesses have been examined at the bar, relative to the charges alledged in Mr. Paull's last petition. The result, as far as it can be known, is as well known to the reader as to myself; and, the observations which I intend to make upon the evidence, as well as upon the conduct of the parties, must be reserved until I shall be in possession of the minutes of that evidence, as taken down and printed by the order of the House; because, upon any other statement of that evidence it would be unfair to comment; and because, until the whole of the proceedings are closed, it would be neither just nor prudent to offer any commentary upon any part of it. There have, however, appeared, in the Morning Chronicle and other papers, which, upon all occasions, praise the ministry, certain paragraphs reflecting upon the conduct of Mr. Paull, which must not pass unnoticed.—— These papers, the same papers that, one day, published a bulletin under the name of Lord Howick, and in two days afterwards, declared that the ministry had never authorised any such publication; these papers represent Drake, the principal witness, as a person of infamous character, and they accuse Mr. Paull of having selected such a man as a witness. But, in the first place, it appears, that the man voluntarily offered himself to Mr. Paull; in the next place, it is evident, that none but persons of infamous character will ever have any hand in bribery and corruption, and that, therefore, if, in such cases, evidence be obtained at all, it must come from some such source. But, when Mr. Paull was told, that the witness *had married a daughter* of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and, of course, *a sister of the Muster-Master General of Ireland*, who, though he be at home, is also a captain in a regiment serving abroad; when Mr. Paull was told, by this Mr. Drake, that he had been active in supporting his Right Honourable relation during the election; when he considered, that this was one of our *high-blooded* opponents, and that though he might have none of the blood royal of the house of Sheridan flowing in his veins, yet, that he was become bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of one who had, and might, upon that ground, fairly be reckoned as making one upon the list of the "juvenile aristocracy," who opposed us with so much zeal at the election, and whose characters had been so highly extolled by Mr. Sheridan; when Mr. Paull considered all this, it is not, I think, very surprising, that he should have thought Mr. Drake one of the very best witnesses that he could possibly obtain; especially when he heard, as the public has since heard, that Mr. Drake was a *pensioner upon the list of Lloyd's fund!* What! Were the circumstances of his having married a daughter of a Privy Councillor, and of his having been honoured with a pension from the discriminating rewarders of merit at Lloyd's; were these circumstances that rendered Mr. Drake's character an object of suspicion, and that argued a criminal intention in Mr. Paull to *accept* of him as a witness? Answer me this, you venal scribes! With *me*, indeed, these circumstances would have weighed nothing at all in favour of Mr. Drake; but, it does not follow that Mr. Paull, who must naturally

have a very strong desire to overcome his enemies, and who must have felt a still closer interest than I could have felt, should view the circumstances in question in the same light that I should have viewed them. ——Now, as to the general character of Mr. Paull and of Mr. Powell too, as far, at least, as relates to transactions of the kind here spoken of, I am tolerably competent to speak. By turning to page 814 of the foregoing volume of the Register, the reader will perceive, that I there explicitly declared, that, from that moment, I would take, personally, no further part, in the Westminster contest. I dissapproved of any proceedings with a view of recovering the seat, though I was, in my own mind, fully convinced that Mr. Paull was entitled to it. At the time when I expressed my disapprobation, I adverted to a speech of Mr. Sheridan, as reported in DEBRETT's Debates under the date of the 26th of August, 1797, where he is represented to have said, that "he "could show him (Lord Hawkesbury) that "the proprietors of boroughs had acted "upon a system that must be cut up by the "roots, or this country could not stand. "He would say, that they had bought "boroughs, and afterwards voted away the "money and the rights of the people, as if "both had been their absolute property. "That there had been a man in that House "who had seven or eight seats in it; that "he was connected with the minister, and "that, without one foot of land in Ireland, "he was made an Irish peer. He could "show him persons, who could not, in"deed, buy men and sell them, because "that was not yet to be done; but, who "bought and sold boroughs, and with "them bought and sold the dearest interests "of the people."——After adverting to this passage, which had first been published in the news-papers and afterwards in a book, I gave my reasons, which it would be quite unnecessary to state here, for exhorting Mr. Paull to remain content with "the post "of honour." Other persons were, however, of a different opinion; and, as I was fully convinced that the cause was just, I did, when it had been once undertaken, heartily wish it success; but, to good wishes my domestic arrangements for the winter necessarily led me to confine myself, and, I have known, and do still know, very little more of the transactions relating to the petition than what has reached me through those respectable vehicles, the London daily news-papers. But, of the conduct of both Mr. Paull and Mr. Powell, *during the election*, a season, when, if ever, one would think, men in their then situation would have been tempted to swerve from the path of morality, I was well acquainted with all they did, and their conduct was such as to convince me, that, into whatever acts of imprudence the former might, by the warmth of his temper, be, at any time hurried, they were both perfectly honourable men. Many were the instances, in which, upon the condition of paying a guinea or two, Mr. Paull was offered a number of votes. Every such offer he rejected; writing to some such offerers, and verbally declaring to others, that he would never give a farthing for the vote of any man; that he was resolved to stand or fall by the free and unbiased choice of the people, to whom he had tendered his services. This was his uniform conduct. There was no ostentation in it. It was next to impossible to disguise any thing from me, who was in his house during the whole of the election, and without whose knowledge no transaction of any importance could have taken place. One particular instance of his conduct will serve to illustrate his character, as connectedwith such matters. Amongst the persons, who, upon the issuing of his first advertisement, came flocking round him with voluntary offers of service, was one who testified uncommon zeal, and who, in a short time, brought him lists of hundreds of promised votes. In a few days, however, it appeared that this man was *a common informer*. When we received the first intimation of this, I really thought Mr. Paull would have dropped upon the floor. "Cobbett," said he, "I "am sick at the thought of this;" and he would actually have given an immediate order, that the canvassing book should be taken from the man, and that he should be forbidden to come again to the room of his committee, had I not remonstrated against this precipitate step as likely unnecessarily to throw this active man into the service of our enemies. "In the ac"cepting of the *voluntary* services of com"mon informers," said I, "you will still "keep at a due distance behind the pious "members of the society for the Suppres"sion of Vice, as also behind the laws for "the detection of *frauds upon the revenue*." We did, however, take care to have no more to do with the man. We got rid of him by an intermediate hint; and I do not believe that he attempted to do us any harm. ——So scrupulous as this was Mr. Paull. So perfectly honourable!——What I have said of him I also say of Mr. Powell, who was a partner in all our councils, and whose heart, I am convinced, is as pure

as his manners are amiable and as his talents are bright; forming, in his whole moral character, not less than in his person, a striking contrast with the at once crafty and profligate man, whom I could name.——For me, who am at this distance from the scene, to assert positively, that neither of these gentlemen have, by the natural warmth of the one, or by the zealous friendship of the other, been led into any act of indiscretion, would be presumptuous; especially when I feel, that I myself, under similar circumstances, might have acted indiscreetly. But, it will require something much more authentic than news-paper clamour to excite, in my mind, even a doubt as to their honour; and I beseech the public, and my readers in particular, not to be in haste to form their opinions; but to wait until the whole of the proceedings are closed, and until we have been able to take a calm and impartial view of those proceedings. If it should clearly appear, that any dishonourable act has been intentionally committed by these gentlemen, I shall, how much soever I may lament the occasion, be amongst the first to condemn them; but, if it should not so appear, they will, in spite of the unanimous out-cry of the ignorant, the cowardly, and the corrupt, find me, I trust, the very last to desert them.

I should have noticed, in this number, how the last seven days' lies have again been succeeded by the account of another French victory, which, it appears, will lead the French army to Konigsberg; but, in my estimation of things, the fate of Westminster is of much more importance than that of Prussia, and of Russia into the bargain.

Botley, 5th March, 1807.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

RECAPTURE OF BUENOS AYRES. *From the London Gazette. Downing-street, January 27, 1807.*

[*Concluded from page 35.*]

On the 13th in the morning, the detachment marines, under the command of Lieut. Swaile, was embarked from Ensenada, and his two Spanish field pieces spiked and thrown into the river.—On the 14th, I sailed for this anchorage, where I arrived the following day, and immediately addressed the Governor of Monte Video on the subject of our troops.——On the 16th, in consequence of receiving by Colonel Liniers' aid-de-camp a letter from Gen. Beresford, I dispatched two of the transports to Buenos Ayres, where one arrived on the 17th; but from the prevarication of the Governor of Monte Video in the first instance, and his subsequent dishonourable conduct, no troops have yet been embarked.— Whilst I had the honour of being on board the Leda, I had every reason to be satisfied with the zealous attention of Capt. Honyman, his officers, and ship's company; and I cannot but express my extreme approbation of the conduct of all the officers and seamen, who were constantly employed in the small vessels and boats, under almost every privation, and in the very severe and trying weather which we experienced the last ten days.—I most sincerely regret, however, that my situation has imposed on me the painful duty of making this report to their lordships, especially as it is done principally by materials collected from different people, which they probably, in many instances, deduced from vague and uncertain conclusions; if however it should hereafter appear that I have failed in any instance to do ample justice to the conduct, energy, and prowess of Gen. Beresford, and the officers and soldiers under his command, it has been owing to the limited scale of my communications since the 12th, from the extreme jealousy of the enemy, and not from any indisposition to appreciate their merits in the most liberal manner; a sentiment which I have held on every occasion, and publicly marked it in all my former dispatches.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,— H. POPHAM.

[Here follows the terms of capitulation, and the return of killed, wounded, and missing.]

Diadem, Rio de la Plata, Oct. 9, 1806.

SIR,——On the 5th instant, off Lobes, we fell in with the Rollo, having a detachment of the 38th on board; she sailed from the Cape in company with the Melantho, which was to the westward of her. I took the troops out of the Rollo, and sent her to Rio Grande, for the purpose of purchasing any flour or biscuit, and ascertaining whether any quantity of the latter could be baked there.—On the 6th we returned to this anchorage, where we found the Protector, with the Adamant and Columbine transports, having on board detachmeuts of the 38th, and the Diadem victualler. I lost no time in ordering all the men of war to complete their provisions to three months, for fear of any accident happening to the victualler.——On the 7th in the evening, the Medusa joined, with four of the Lancaster's convoy; and Capt. Bouverie reported, that the Lancaster was to the eastward with the remaining two ships, having the preceding night parted their cables. The Leda joined the same evening, and Capt. Honyman reported, that he had detained a Danish ship, bound to

Monte Video, having on board the Governor of Valdivia.—I intended to have dispatched the Wellington this evening, but Col. Vassal particularly requested I would detain her till the arrival of the Lancaster, as Col. Backhouse was a senior Lieut.-Col. to himself, and succeeding adventitiously to the command of the army, he would naturally be desirous of making a report to the Duke of York of the state of his force, and the arrangements he had made.—The weather was so hazy, and the current so strong to the southward, that the Lancaster did not join till the 12th, in the evening; on the following day, as it appeared to me, that the commanding officer of the troops intended to make his first attempt on Monte Video, and was anxious to see that place, I directed Capt. Rowley to take all the transports to Flores Bay, and proceeded on the 14th off Monte Video, and then to Flores, where we arrived on the 15th in the morning. From the to the 27th it blew so hard, that nothing could be attempted; on the 28th, in the morning, the wind was easterly, and every circumstance as favourable as possible, to try the experiment: and, as the pilots assured us a flat ran off from the rocks of the town for a mile, making precisely the same water alongside of them as at that distance, I ordered Capt. Edmonds, who very handsomely requested to remain till the experiment was tried, and to command the leading transport, not to attend to the ostensible orders of leading down in three fathom, but to haul in till he had small quarter less three, to ascertain whether the flat really run off as described, or not. Capt. Edmonds will explain the circumstance fully to their lordships: he bordered as near the shore as he could, for the safety of the frigates, and then was only within random shot, and therefore I would not let the Leda go down a second time, for unless the ships could have got well within point-blank shot, there was no chance of making a breach for the army to land in the town. Although the enemy fired for more than an hour on our ships, in consequence of their being but little wind, I am happy to inform you that only one man was wounded.—As I now saw it was impossible to get close enough in to make any breach in the south wall with the men of war, I proposed to Col. Backhouse to take Maldonado, which I should have attempted early in the winter, if the marines had not been left at Buenos Ayres.—Maldonado is an excellent harbour, where the fleet can water, and get bullocks, which now really became very necessary to recruit our men — The island Gorreti, which forms the harbour of Maldonado, is very strong, and after the troops are landed to take the village, and the batteries on the sea coast in reverse, I shall propose to take the island by the navy, provided it does not surrender to my summons. ——I have the honour to be, *Sir*, your most obedient Servant,——Home Popham.

Diadem, Maldonado Harbour, Rio de la Plata, Oct. 30, 1806.

Sir,——I considered it right to take possession of the harbour of Maldonado, as a safe anchorage for the ships now in the river, and those expected to arrive, independent of the supplies which that district could so abundantly furnish us with.—I, therefore, request that you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the moment I satisfied Brig.-Gen. Backhouse of the expediency of the measure, no time was lost in moving part of the 38th regiment to the Leda and Medusa, when they accompanied the Diadem to this place.—The frigates anchored about five o'clock, yesterday evening, to the westward of the westernmost battery; and Capt. Honyman informed me by telegraph, that the beach was smooth, and that the debarkation could be easily covered.—— At six, the troops from the Diadem assembled alongside the Leda, and a landing was immediately effected, without any opposition; but, as I thought it possible that the enemy might have a greater force than he shewed on the hills, and as the nearest transport was yet some distance from the roads, I ordered the marines of the Medusa, and a company of Blues, from each ship, to be landed, to support the army, who entered, and took possession of the village of Maldonado before eight o'clock.—— This morning I sent a summons to the fortified Island of Gorreti, which forms this harbour; and I inclose, for their lordships' information, a copy of it, with the commandant's answer, and my reply, which was accompanied by an assurance, through Lieut. Wiseman of the Diadem, who was employed on this service, that I would not hold any further communication with him, until his Majesty's colours, which I sent for that purpose, were hoisted on the fort.——This proposition was acceded to, and the Spanish prisoners were immediately embarked, consisting of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, and one hundred and four men.——Gorreti is a very strong position, defended by twenty twenty-four pounders, in four batteries, so placed as to command the roadstead, the eastern passage between it and the Peninsula; and the only two practical beaches for landing.—— The troops were disembarked as they arrived, and the transports ordered to be wa-

tered as fast as possible, and held in readiness for any other service.—It is impossible for me to conclude this dispatch, without assuring their lordships that I continue to receive the most cordial assistance from every officer and man in the squadron under my command; nor could I observe the least abatement of their zeal, under many considerable privations which they experienced during the whole of this winter.—I have the honour to be, &c.—HOME POPHAM.

Return of ordnance taken in the Island of Gorreti.——Twenty twenty-four pounders, mounted on field carriages, side arms, and ammunition, complete.—Four twenty-four pounders, not mounted.—200 stand of arms, and various other small articles.——HOME POPHAM.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Diadem, Rio de la Plata, Oct. 30, 1806.

SIR,——His Britannic Majesty's forces are in possession of Maldonado, and with a view to save time, as the general is on shore, I summon you to surrender the island of Gorreti.—Any opposition on your part, to such a force as is now in this bay, must be fruitless; and if you do not allow the officer, who is charged with this letter, to hoist his Majesty's colours at the fort, and trust to the known liberality of the British nation, you will have to answer for all the serious and inevitable consequences of an attack, whenever the general and myself think it expedient to make one. (Signed) HOME POPHAM.——To the Commandant of the Island of Gorreti.

His Majesty's ship Diadem, Rio de la Plata, October 30, 1806.

SIR,——The island must surrender immediately.—The British nation always treats its prisoners with honour and liberality.——Private property is held sacred by British officers.—The Spanish officers and men at Gorreti shall immediately join the prisoners already taken. (Signed) HOME POPHAM. ——To the Commandant of the Island of Gorreti.

TRANSLATION.

SIR,——The honour of the Spanish arms not permitting me to surrender at discretion, as you desire, by your letter which you sent me, dated the 30th instant, I trust you will grant me the terms which accompany this, to vindicate my honour with my superiors. Our Lord preserve you many years.

Island of Gorreti, Oct. 30, 1806.

Terms made in the Island of Gorreti, the 30th Oct. 1806.—I. The garrison to march out with all military honours, keeping their arms, and the officers, serjeants, and corporals, their swords.—II. All their effects to be embarked, and carried to the Main by the British boats, there not being any on the island.—III. The garrison to be permitted to proceed to Monte Video, on condition of not bearing arms until exchanged.—IV. The remains of artillery and stores shall faithfully be delivered up.—V. No person to be permitted to enter the island before it is evacuated, except those intended to take possession.——AUGUSTIN DE LERGS.—To the General of Great Britain.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Twenty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army. (Concluded from page 92.)*

The Emperor had all along by him, besides his imperial guard, a large body of troops, as a reserve to act in unforeseen events.—Marshal Soult having got possession of the wood, which occupied him two hours made a move forwards. At that instant, the Emperor gave orders that the division of French cavalry in reserve should begin to take post, and that the two new divisions from the army of Marshal Ney should take station upon the field of battle by the rear.—All the troops of the reserve were advanced to the foremost line, which being thus strengthened, threw the enemy into disorder and they instantly retired —They retrieved themselves for about an hour; but were cast into dreadful confusion, at the moment when our division of dragoons and cuirassiers, having the Grand Duke of Berg at their head, were able to take a part in the engagement. These brave cavaliers, aware that the fate of the battle, especially at the conclusion of the day, depended upon them, bore the Prussians down before them in great confusion wherever they met them. The Prussian cavalry and infantry could not withstand the shock. In vain did they form themselves into a square; five of their battalions were put to the rout; artillery, cavalry, infantry, all were surprised and taken. The French came at the same instant to Weimar as the enemy, who found themselves pursued for six hours.——On our right wing, Marshal Davoust did wonders. Not merely did he maintain his ground, but he followed fighting for the space of three hours against the great body of the enemy's troops from the defiles of Koefen.—This officer, to a distinguished bravery joins a vast deal of firmness, the first recommendation of a warrior. He was supported by Generals Gudin, Friant, Morand, Daultranne, chief of the general staff, and by the steady intrepidity of his brave light corps.—The result of the battle is from 30,000 to 40,000 prisoners of war, 300 pieces of cannon, immense magazines and quantities of provisions. Among the pri-

soners are more than twenty generals; among others, several lieut.-generals; one is lieut.-gen. Schmettau. The amount of the loss of the Prussian army is enormous; it is estimated at above 20,000 killed and wounded. Marshal Mollendorf is wounded; the Duke of Brunswick and General Ruchel are killed, and Prince Henry of Prussia is wounded desperately According to the accounts of deserters, prisoners of war, and flags of truce, the disorder and confusion in the remainder of the enemy's army is at the utmost.—On our side, we have only to lament the loss of Brigadier General De Belli, a brave soldier; and the wound of Brigade General Conroux. Among the killed are Colonels Verges of the 12th infantry of the line, Lamotte of the 36th, Barbenegre of the 9th regiment of hussars, Marigny of the 28th chasseurs, Harispe of the 16th light infantry, Dalembourg of the 1st dragoons, Nicolas of the 61st of the line, Viala of the 81st, and Higonet of the 108th.—The hussars and chasseurs displayed a valour on this day, which entitles them to the highest praise. The Prussian cavalry were never able to stand against them, and all the affairs they had with the infantry were fortunate.—Of the French infantry we shall say nothing. It is known, long since, that it is the best infantry in the world. The Emperor declares that the French cavalry, after the experience of the two last campaigns and last battle, has not its like.—The Prussian army has, in this campaign, lost every point of retreat in its line of operations. Its left wing, followed by Marshal Davoust, begins its retreat to Weimar, at the same time that its right wing and centre take their retreat from Weimar toward Naumburg. The confusion was, therefore, extraordinary. The King was forced to retreat across the field, at the head of his regiment of cavalry.

Twenty-Third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

The Duke of Weimar passed the Elbe at Havelberg. Marshal Soult proceeded, on the 29th, to Rathnau, and on the 30th to Wertenhausen.—On the 29th, the column of the Duke of Weimar was at Rhinsberg, and the Prince of Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) was at the same time at Furstenberg. There is no doubt that this corps, consisting of 14,000 men, have already fallen into the hands of the French army, or are at this moment in the act of surrendering. General Blucher also left Rhinsberg in the morning of the 29th with 7,000 men, in order to proceed to Stettin, but Marshal Lannes and the Grand Duke of Berg had three days march in advance of him. This column is therefore now in our power, or will be captured within 48 hours.—In the last bulletin, we mentioned that the Grand Duke of Berg, in the affair of Prentzlow, obliged the Prince of Hohenlohe, and his 17,000 men, to lay down their arms. On the 29th, an enemy's corps of 6000 men likewise capitulated to General Milhaud, at Passewalk. This gives us 2000 horses more, with their saddles, harnesses, and hangers. There are, besides, more than 6000 horses, which the Emperor has still at Spandau, after having mounted all his cavalry.——Marshal Soult having arrived at Rathnau, fell in with five squadrons of Saxon cavalry; they solicited a capitulation, which was granted. This produced a farther supply of 500 horses for the army.—We have taken, up to this period, 150 stand of colours, among which are some embroidered by the hands of the beautiful queen herself; a beauty which as proved as disastrous to the people of Prussia, as that of Helen did to the Trojans.—The states of the Duke of Brunswick are taken possession of, and it is believed that the Duke has fled to England. All his troops are disarmed. If he deserves the hatred of the French people, he has no less merited that of the Prussian nation and army; of the nation, which accuses him of being one of the promoters of the war; of the army, which complains of his manœuvres, and all his military proceedings. The reliance so improperly placed on the young *gens-d'armes* is pardonable: but the conduct of this prince, in the 72d year of his age, exhibits an example of folly, the necessary consequences of which to himself can awaken no regret. What indeed is there in age to command respect, when the ostentation and inconsiderations of youth are joined to all the frailties of declining years? —The capitulation of the 6,000 men mentioned above to have taken place on the 29th was concluded between Brigadier Hagle, commanding the regiment of Truenfels, and the column detached by Prince Hohenlohe, and Lieut.-Col. Guillaume, of the 13th regiment of horse chasseurs, who signed it in the name of Gen. Milhaud. It was stipulated that the whole corps should lay down their arms in the presence of the 13th regiment of chasseurs and the 9th dragoons, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. The officers were, however, allowed to retain their horses and baggage, and to depart on their parole.

Twenty fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Stettin is in our possession: while the left wing of the Grand Duke of Berg's corps, commanded by Gen. Milhaud, forced a Prus-

sian column of 6000 men to capitulate at Passewalk, the right wing commanded by General Lassalle, summoned the town of Stettin to surrender, which it did on a capitulation, the terms of which are subjoined. Stettin is a town in a good state for defence, well armed, and provided with pallisadoes. We found in it 160 pieces of cannon, and considerable magazines, with a garrison consisting of 6000 fine troops, and a number of generals, who were made prisoners of war. Such is the result of the capitulation of Stettin, an event which can only be accounted for by the utter dismay which the destruction of the great Prussian army has produced on the Oder, and over all the territory on the right bank of that river.—Of the whole of that great army, 130,000 strong, not a man has crossed the Oder. They were all either taken or killed, except those who still wander between the Elbe and the Oder, but who will within four days be made prisoners of war. It is unnecessary to dwell on the importance of the reduction of Stettin, which is one of the first commercial towns of Prussia, and which secures to the army an excellent line of operations.—As soon as the columns commanded by the Duke of Weimar and General Blucher, which are cut off on the right and left, and pursued on the rear, shall surrender, the army will take a few days rest.—Nothing has yet been learned respecting the Russians. We long much to see 100,000 of them arrive, but the reports of their march, we are afraid, are mere gasconade; they dare not meet us. The battle of Austerlitz is still before their eyes. But what all intelligent persons must despise, is to hear the Emperor Alexander and his directing senate declare, that it was the allies of Russia who were defeated. It is well known over all Europe, that there is scarce a family in Russia that does not wear mourning, and it is not merely the loss of their allies they deplore. Besides, 195 pieces of Russian cannon which were taken, and are now at Strasburgh, were not the cannon of their allies. The 50 Russian standards which are hung up in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, are not the colours of their allies. The crowds of Russians who died in our hospitals, or are imprisoned in our towns were not the soldiers of their allies.——But the Emperor Alexander, who commanded so great an army at Austerlitz and Wischau, and who now displays so much ostentation, did not, it seems, command the allies. The prince who capitulated, and bound himself to evacuate Germany by forced marches, was doubtless no allied prince. When mean deceptions like these are resorted to, it is impossible for one to hear them stated without a shrug of the shoulders. Such, however, are the consequences of the weakness of princes, and the corruption of ministers. It would have been a more plain and a more honourable course for the Emperor Alexander, had he ratified the treaty of peace which his plenipotentiary signed, and thereby given repose to his country. In proportion as the war continues, the illusion of the power of Russia will be exposed, and that false idea will at last be completely removed. It was the policy of Catherine to produce a great impression by the display of her power; and she succeeded no less in that object than the present ministers will, by their extravagant efforts and folly, succeed in rendering the influence of Russia contemptible in Europe. —On the 21st, the King of Holland arrived with the advanced guard of the army of the North at Gottingen. On the 26th, Marshal Mortier arrived at Fulda, with the two divisions of the 8th corps of the grand army, commanded by the Generals Lagrange and Dupas.—At Munster, in the county of Main and in other Prussian states, the King of Holland found magazines and artillery. At Fulda and at Brunswick, the arms of the Prince of Orange and of the Duke have been removed. Neither of these princes will reign again. They were the principal instigators of this new coalition.—The English would make no peace—they shall make it; but France will include more coasts and states in her federative system.

Twenty-Fifth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 2.—This day General Beaumont presented to his Majesty the Emperor, fifty new flags and standards, lately taken from the enemy. He rode through the principal streets of the town with his dragoons, bearing these testimonials of victory. The number of standards taken since the battle of Jena, amounts, at this moment, to 200.—Field Marshal Davoust having invested and summoned Custrin, a principal fortress of Prussia Proper, that place has surrendered, and 4000 prisoners have been made there. The officers return home on their parole, but the privates are to be sent to France. This fortress, which was well provided, is situated in the middle of a morass, and possessed considerable magazines. It is one of the most important conquests of the grand army, and gives us the command of all the places on the Oder.—Field Marshal Ney is about to commence the regular siege of Magdeburg, and it is probable that that fortress will not make much resistance.—On the 21st, the Duke of Berg had his head quarters at Friedland. It appears from his manœuvres that

he intends to attack the column commanded by the Prussian General Bila. General Becker had an action with General Boresart's brigade of dragoons, on a plain in the front of the little town of Anklau. The enemy, both cavalry and infantry, were thrown into complete confusion, and our troops forced their way along with the Prussians into the town, which was compelled to capitulate. The number of prisoners taken in this place was 4000, the officers were dismissed on their parole, and the soldiers were forwarded to France. Among the prisoners we found the troops composing the Royal Hussar Regiment of Guards, who, in the Seven Years' War, were presented with tyger skin cloaks by the Empress Catherine, as a mark of her approbation of the conduct of that corps.—The military chest belonging to General Bilon's corps, and a part of its baggage, had been removed over the Perne, and were on the territory of Swedish Pomerania. The Grand Duke has demanded this property. On the 1st of November, the Duke had his head-quarters at Dimnin.—General Blucher and the Duke of Weimar being cut off from Stettin, made a movement as if they meant to return towards the Elbe, but the Field Marshal had calculated on this manœuvre, and there is no doubt but that both corps will fall into our hands.—The Field Marshal has concentrated his corps at Stettin, where more cannon and magazines are daily found.—Our troops have already advanced into Poland. Prince Jerome, with an army formed of the Bavarian and Wirtemberg troops, proceeds to Silesia. His Majesty has appointed General Clarke, Governor of Berlin and of all Prussia, and has already laid down the principles according to which the internal government of the country is to be administered.—The King of Holland advances into the Hanoverian territory, and Marshal Mortier into that of Cassel.

Proclamation of the Emperor and King.

Soldiers!—You have justified my expectations, and worthily answered the confidence of the French people. You have supported privations and fatigues with as much courage as you have shown intrepidity and coolness in the midst of combats. You are the worthy defenders of the honour of my crown, and of the great people; as long as you are animated with this spirit, nothing will be able to withstand you The cavalry have vied with the infantry and artillery: I no longer know which part of the army to give the preference to. You are all good soldiers. These are the results of our labours.—One of the first military powers of Europe, who so lately dared to propose to us a shameful capitulation, is annihilated. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the Saal and the Elbe, which our forefathers would not have crossed in seven years, we have crossed in seven days, and fought in the interval four engagements, and a great battle. We have preceded at Potsdam and Berlin the renown of our victories. We have made 60,000 prisoners, taken 65 stands of colours, amongst which are those of the King of Prussia's guards, 600 pieces of cannon, three fortresses, and upwards of twenty generals. Nevertheless, more than one half of you regret not to have fired a musket shot. All the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, as far as the Oder, are in our power.—Soldiers, the Russians boast of coming to us. We will march to meet them, and thus spare them half of the road; they shall again find Austerlitz in the heart of Prussia. A nation which has so soon forgotten the generosity we showed it after that battle, in which its Emperor, court, and the wreck of its army were only indebted for their safety to the capitulation we granted them, is a nation which cannot successfully cope with us.—Nevertheless, while we march to meet the Russians, new armies, formed in the interior of the empire, come to take our place, in order to keep our conquests. My whole people have risen, indignant at the unworthy capitulation which the Prussian ministers, in their delirium, proposed to us. Our roads and our frontier towns are full of conscripts, who burn to march in our footsteps. We will be no longer the sport of a treacherous peace, and we will not lay down our arms until we have obliged the English, those eternal enemies of our nation, to renounce the scheme of disturbing the Continent, and the tyranny of the seas.—Soldiers, I cannot better express to you the sentiments I entertain for you, than by telling you that I bear in my heart the love you daily show me.—From our Imperial Camp at Potsdam, 26th October, 1806. By order of the Emperor. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

Letter from H. I. and R. M. to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Empire.

Monsieur L'Eveque, the success we have just gained over our enemies, with the aid of Divine Providence, imposes on us, and on our people, the obligations of giving solemn thanks to the God of Armies. You have seen by the last note of the King of Prussia, the necessity under which we lay to draw our sword, in order to defend the most precious wealth of our people, honour. Whatever repugnance we may have had, we have been driven to the last extremity by our enemies; they have been beaten and

confounded. On the receipt then of the present, assemble our people in the temples, chaunt a *Te Deum*, and order prayers to be put up to God for the prosperity he has granted our arms.—This letter being for no other purpose, I entreat God, M. L'Evaque, to have you in his holy keeping.——From our Imperial Camp, at Weimar, Oct. 15, 1806. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

His eminence the Archbishop of Paris waited on his Imperial Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, in order to concert with him on the execution of the orders of his Majesty. It was determined that the *Te Deum* should be sung in the Metropolitan Church, on Sunday, the 19th of the present month, at 12 o'clock; and that the same ceremonial should take place as was observed last year, when *Te Deums* were sung as thanks for the memorable victories of Ulm and Austerlitz.

26th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Oct. 31. The brigade of light cavalry and dragoons, under General Rivaud, forced 7000 infantry, and 5 regiments of cavalry, to lay down their arms, on the 28th of Oct near Passewalk. On the same day, the light cavalry of the reserve of the Grand Duke of Berg, under Gen. Lasalle, arrived before Stettin, and forced the governor to capitulate. There were found large magazines, and 160 cannon. The garrison of 6000 men are prisoners of war. A column of 8000 men, under Gen. Blucher, and one of 10,000, under the Duke of Saxe Weimar, are surrounded between the Elbe and Oder, and must soon surrender.

27th Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Berlin, Nov. 6, 1806.——Marshal Mortier, who commands the 8th corps of the Grand Army, arrived at Cassel the 31st of October.—The Prince of Hesse Cassel, Marshal in the service of Prussia, and his son, a general in the same service, have withdrawn from it. The Prince, in answer to the note which was transmitted to him, demanded permission to march at the head of his own troops, along with those of France, against our enemies. Marshal Mortier replied, he had no orders touching such a proposition; but that the Prince having armed, after the declaration he had made through his minister, M. de Malsbourg, at Paris, the least further armament on his part would be considered as an act of hostility, as the Prussians had not violated his territories, but on the contrary were received with pomp therein by the Hereditary Prince: and that from the period of the Hessian territories being evacuated by the Erench, until the battle of Jena, there was nought but armaments going forward at Cassel; and that in point of fact, the Hereditary Prince was more desirous of marching at the head of Prussian troops, and to insult the French by all sorts of provocation.——He will pay for his frenzied conduct by the loss of his dominions. There is not a principality in all Germany that has been so uniformly the enemy of France. For many years its sovereigns sold the blood of their subjects to England, in order to fight with it against France in the two worlds. By this traffic of his troops the Prince in question has amassed great treasures part of which, it is said, are shut up in Magdeburg, and part remitted to foreign countries. This sordid avarice has caused the catastrophe of his House, the existence of which on our frontiers is incompatible with the safety of France! It is at length time to extinguish that which may cause the unhappiness of 40 millions of people, and bring trouble and disorder to their very doors. The English may yet corrupt certain sovereigns by means of their gold, but the loss of the thrones of such sovereigns will be the inevitable consequence of such corruption. On the contrary, the allies of France will prosper and be aggrandized.—The people of Hesse Cassel will be more fortunate; eased of the expense of vast military establishments, they can follow the peaceful occupations of agriculture; freed from a great part of their taxes, they will be governed upon generous and liberal principles, as is France and her allies. If the French had been conquered, their country would have been dismembered; it is just, therefore, that the serious consequences of war should attach to those who provoked it. In this terrible game the chances should be equal. The Emperor has ordered the fortresses of Hanau and Marbourg to be destroyed, all the magazines and arsenals to be removed to Mentz, all the troops disarmed, and the sovereign arms of Hesse Cassel every where to be taken down.—These measures are not dictated by an insatiable ambition, nor a thirst for further conquests. The cabinet of the Thuilleries is induced to act so by its conviction of the necessity of putting an end to a contest such as the present, and causing a durable peace to succeed to this insensate war, instigated by the miserable and low manœuvres of agents, such as the Lords Paget and Morpeth.

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